



Reinterpretation of the Material and Meaning of the Encim Kebaya in the Dynamics of Social Practice

Winda Amalia^{1✉}, Fatmawati², Tri Wahyu Retno Ningsih³

Universitas Gunadarma, Indonesia

Keywords

Kebaya Encim, Social Practice Dynamic, Material, Meaning and Culture

Abstract

This study aims to understand the dynamics of social practices surrounding the Kebaya Encim by focusing on changes in its material elements and meanings. The Kebaya Encim is a form of traditional attire that emerged from a blend of Javanese, Dutch, Chinese, and Betawi cultures, giving it strong historical and cultural significance within society. As times have changed, the Kebaya Encim is no longer used solely as traditional attire but has undergone transformations in both function and appearance to align with the needs and trends of modern society. This study employs the social dynamics theory proposed by Shove, Pantzar, and Watson (2012) to examine how changes in social practices occur through the interplay between material, competence, and meaning. The focus of this study is to examine the changes in the Kebaya Encim regarding its material elements and meanings resulting from social and cultural developments. The research method employed is descriptive qualitative, utilizing in-depth interviews, snowball sampling, as well as direct and digital observations via the social media platform TikTok. The results of the study indicate that the material elements of the Kebaya Encim have undergone changes in fabric, cut, motifs, color, and increasingly modern production technology. Meanwhile, the symbolic meaning of the Kebaya Encim has also evolved, encompassing its symbolic function, cultural identity, and the way people view it as part of their lifestyle and self-expression. These changes in both material and symbolic aspects influence one another and shape new social practices surrounding the use of the Kebaya Encim in contemporary society.

✉Corresponding Author: Winda Amalia
E-mail: windfisher823@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION

Clothing is one of humanity's basic needs; it not only serves to protect the body but also holds social and cultural significance. Over time, clothing has become a symbol of identity, social status, and a representation of a society's culture. Therefore, traditional clothing is not merely viewed as a basic necessity but also as a cultural heritage passed down through generations. Through traditional clothing, a society can showcase its distinctive cultural traits, history, and group identity. One traditional garment with strong cultural and historical value in Indonesia is the kebaya. The kebaya is known as a traditional Indonesian women's garment consisting of a long-sleeved blouse with an opening at the front. Over time, the kebaya has taken on various forms and styles according to the local cultures of each region. The kebaya is not only a symbol of modesty and femininity for Indonesian women but also reflects a long history of cultural exchange and fusion across the archipelago.

Historically, the development of the kebaya was influenced by various foreign cultures that entered Indonesia through trade and colonialism, such as Arab, Portuguese, Chinese, and Dutch cultures. This cultural fusion gave rise to various types of kebaya with distinct characteristics tailored to the local social context. One form of kebaya born from this cultural fusion is the Kebaya Encim. The Encim kebaya is known as the traditional attire of the Betawi people, reflecting Peranakan Chinese cultural influences. This kebaya developed in the northern coastal regions of Java, such as Jakarta, Pekalongan, and Lasem, which have long served as cultural crossroads. The term "encim" originates from the Hokkien language and refers to married Chinese women. In its early stages, the Kebaya Encim was widely worn by Peranakan Chinese women or Chinese ladies in the Dutch East Indies.

The Kebaya Encim is characterized by a simple cut, a V-shaped collar, bright colors, and embroidered trim along the edges. The use of lightweight fabrics and intricate embroidery details reflects the influence of Chinese and European cultures, which later blended with the local Betawi culture. This fusion makes the Kebaya Encim a form of hybrid culture born from the process of cultural acculturation within Indonesian society. Over time, the Kebaya Encim has undergone changes in terms of form, function, and meaning. While it was once worn as everyday attire by Peranakan Chinese women and the Betawi community, today the Kebaya Encim is more commonly worn at formal events and cultural activities, and has even become part of modern fashion trends. These changes have been influenced by modernization, the development of the fashion industry, social media, and shifts in people's lifestyles. This demonstrates that culture is dynamic and continuously evolves in tandem with societal development.

The changes in the Kebaya Encim can be understood through the concept of cultural hybridity proposed by Homi K. Bhabha. According to Bhabha, hybridity is a process of cultural blending that produces new identities through a "third space." Within this space, culture undergoes constant negotiation and transformation due to ongoing social interactions. The Kebaya Encim serves as a

concrete example of the process of cultural hybridity, as it emerged from the fusion of Chinese, Betawi, Dutch, and other local cultures.

In addition to the theory of hybridity, this study also draws on the theory of social practice dynamics proposed by Shove, Pantzar, and Watson (2012). This theory posits that a social practice is shaped by the interplay of three key elements: material, meaning, and competence. The material element relates to the physical objects or technology used; the meaning element relates to the values and symbols held by the community; and the competence element relates to the knowledge and skills required to carry out the social practice. In the context of the Kebaya Encim, material changes can be seen in the use of modern materials, design variations, and evolving production technologies. Changes in meaning are evident in the shift of the kebaya's function from everyday attire to a cultural symbol and part of modern lifestyle. Meanwhile, changes in competence are evident in how the community learns, uses, and produces the Kebaya Encim in the digital age. Against this backdrop, this study focuses on reinterpreting the Kebaya Encim within the dynamics of social practices as an expression of cultural hybridity. The study aims to examine how the form, function, and meaning of the Kebaya Encim have evolved in modern society, as well as how the process of cultural hybridity has influenced the development of the Kebaya Encim to the present day

METHOD

This study employs a qualitative descriptive method with a constructivist-interpretivist approach, focusing on changes in the form and meaning of the Kebaya Encim. Data for this study were obtained from in-depth interviews with informants who possess an understanding of the Kebaya Encim, cultural practitioners, and the Chinese-Betawi Peranakan community. This study also utilizes additional data, specifically digital observations of content featuring the Kebaya Encim on the social media platform TikTok. Data collection employed purposive sampling and snowball sampling techniques, wherein informants were selected based on their relevance to the research topic and through recommendations from previously interviewed informants. Data was obtained through in-person interviews in the JABODETABEK area and online via the Zoom app, as well as documentation from digital sources.

Table 1.1 informants

1. N1	Age: 27 Cultural background: Peranakan Chinese, Tangerang Occupation/activities: Chinese cultural practitioner and member of the Peranakan Story community
2. N2	Age: 41 Cultural background: Peranakan Chinese, Tangerang Occupation/activities: Lecturer in the Chinese Literature Program and Mandarin language instructor at schools

3. N3 Age: 22 years old
Cultural background: Javanese, Depok, living in the Betawi area Occupation/activities:
None 2024 finalist, wearer of the Kebaya Encim, and fashion practitioner

4. N4 Age: 60 years old
Cultural background: Javanese, living in Tangerang
Profession/activities: Lecturer in the Tourism Studies Program and a long-time wearer of
the Kebaya Encim

5. N5 Age: 57 years old
Cultural background: Peranakan Chinese
Profession/activities: Kebaya designer, owner of a kebaya boutique, and caretaker of the
Sapta Ronggo Buddhist Temple

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section presents the research results. The research findings may be supplemented with tables, graphs, picture, and/or charts. The discussion section explains the processed data, interprets the findings logically, and connects them to relevant reference sources.

1. An Overview of the Reinterpretation of the Encim Kebaya

The Encim kebaya is a type of traditional kebaya that developed from a blend of Javanese, Colonial, Chinese, and Betawi cultures. Although kebayas have been around since the 15th century, unlike regular kebayas, the Encim kebaya marks the presence of Chinese culture in the archipelago, especially in the 19th century (Wirawan & Sutami, 2022). The Dutch were inspired by the kebaya worn by Javanese nobles at that time, indicating that the kebaya in Indonesia was not first introduced by the Dutch or Chinese, but originated from Javanese culture. Later, the emergence of the Encim kebaya or peranakan kebaya was often associated with Chinese culture. This kebaya originated from the Chinese community, who were inspired by the Dutch custom of wearing kebayas as everyday attire. Thus, the Encim kebaya emerged with patterns from Javanese aristocratic clothing that were adopted by the Dutch, then adopted again by the Chinese community with various modifications.

“So, actually, the Peranakan kebaya came about because the Dutch wore kebayas. But in reality, the Dutch were inspired by Javanese kebayas. Back then, the trend was to follow the Dutch because they were the most modern, and they saw the Dutch wearing kebayas.” (N1)



Figure 1. 1 Kebaya Bangsawan Jawa
Sumber: <https://www.beautynesia.id>

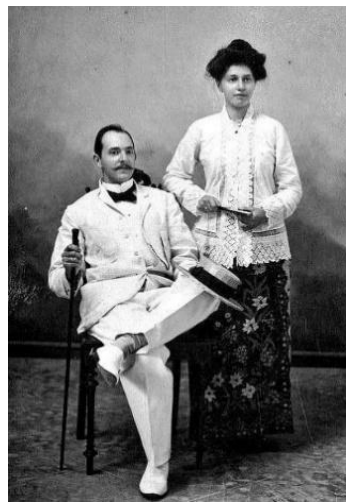


Figure 1. 2 Kebaya Kolonial Belanda
Sumber: <https://www.beautynesia.id>

According to information from a source with the code N5, the early generations of the Chinese community wore kurung or long dresses. These clothes were worn by the upper class or respected people at that time, such as landlords. These clothes had a triangular shape at the bottom of the sleeves, similar to a tunic if described in terms of the types of clothes that exist today. They wore these clothes with a sarong as a bottom, so these kurung clothes were worn by the Chinese generation who came to Indonesia.

“This kurung shirt was worn by the upperclass Chinese, who were landlords in Senen. It eventually became triangular like a T-shirt without a collar, with an opening at the top and sarongs at the bottom, similar to a tunic in modern times.” (N5)



Figure 1. 3 Baju Panjang
Sumber: New Straits Time.com

The long dress then underwent changes, becoming shorter and shorter over time, from knee-length to hip-length. This happened before the Chinese community adapted or changed their clothing and switched to wearing white kebaya. Eventually, the kurung dress was no longer used and was replaced by the emergence of lace kebaya, inspired by the clothing worn by Dutch women. The lace motif, when it first appeared, was only in the form of straight lines placed in two positions, namely on the outside or side and on the inside.

“This long dress underwent a regeneration here. It became shorter and shorter, shorter and shorter, until it was this short, finally reaching the hips. And this was when they wanted to adapt to wearing white kebaya” (N5).



Figure 1. 4 Kebaya Renda
Sumber: <https://surl.li/pbqlik>

The lace kebaya was then modified by the Chinese community by adding motifs to the lace kebaya in the form of embroidered nets or other embellishments on the kerancang so that the lace motifs were no longer just straight lines as before. The motifs added by the Chinese peranakan were motifs that followed those on the baju kurung that they had previously worn. This led to the first modification of the lace kebaya by the Chinese community being called the kebaya nyonya or kerancang.

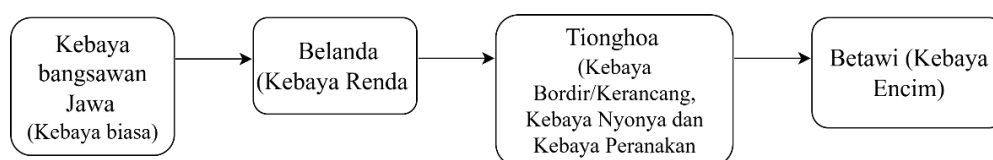
“Then, as it developed, the Chinese community turned this kebaya into a kebaya kerancang with a net-like pattern. Eventually, it was no longer straight but patterned” (N5).



Figure 1. 5 Kebaya Encim
Sumber: <https://lifestyle.kompas.com>

Based on information from triangulators, it is this kebaya kerancang that is considered to be the kebaya peranakan. So the pattern of its emergence is lace kebaya from Dutch society, then modified by Chinese society, resulting in kebaya with various colors, which is now referred to by society as Kebaya Encim. Thus, the origins of the Kebaya Encim can be traced back to the Javanese noble kebaya, which was modified by the Dutch into the lace kebaya, then modified by the Chinese into a kebaya with a variety of colors and names, such as the embroidered kebaya or kerancang, the kebaya nyonya, and the kebaya peranakan, and finally modified by the Betawi into the kebaya encim.

Table 1.2 The Evolution of the Encim



As seen in the picture and in line with what Luthfiah (2019) said, the Encim kebaya has a main feature of a V-shaped collar. In addition, the Encim kebaya also has several unique features, such as a tapered bottom, often referred to as the pucung rebung model. Generally, this kebaya uses lightweight and cool cotton fabric and is decorated with striking embroidery or stitching on the collar, sleeves, sides of the front slit, and bottom. Unlike other types of kebaya, the Encim kebaya does not use sequins as decoration. Then, in choosing colors, there are certain rules that adjust to the context or situation when the kebaya is worn. The choice of colors cannot be separated from the meanings contained within them, such as white and blue, which are usually associated with mourning, while bright colors, as shown in the picture, are usually used for parties or celebrations.

1. Reinterpretation Analysis of Encim Kebaya Based on Elements of Social Practice

The reinterpretation of the Encim kebaya can be understood through the theory of Social Practice

Dynamics developed by Shove et al. (2012), which explains that a practice emerges, persists, changes, or disappears based on the relationships between cultural elements that are formed, maintained, or severed by the community. The elements that shape these practices are material elements in the form of physical objects or technology, as well as meanings in the form of interpretations and symbolic values. In the context of the Encim kebaya, reinterpretation occurs when the materials used, the method of production or use, and how the community interprets the Encim kebaya change, shift, or are combined with new elements in accordance with the current social situation.

For example, Kebaya Encim combined with modern elements such as jeans or modern skirts, which were once popular on social media, is an example of the dynamics of social practices that continue to evolve in society. Through social practices, it can be understood that changes in the materials, methods of production and use, and meanings of Kebaya Encim show how society also plays a role in reshaping their cultural identity.

1.2 Material Elements of Kebaya Encim

The material elements in Kebaya Encim include elements such as fabric type, kebaya design and cut, and innovations in the use of materials. This is due to the interaction of complex cultures. This cultural interaction creates a unique identity in clothing that has a deep meaning.

Table 2. 1 Material components of the Encim kebaya

Elements	Data excerpts	Themes	Cultural development
Materials	<i>“My great-grandmother's kebaya was made of chiffon, a thin, floral chiffon kebaya.” (N1)</i>	Traditional materials	Chinese: symbols of Peranakan aesthetics and femininity, Dutch influence in materials
	<i>“In the past, the Encim kebaya had a long skirt that reached the knees, long sleeves, and a loose cut, and the material was light, like chiffon</i>	Texture and cut	Adaptation of modesty values

<i>or simple cotton.” (N2)</i>		
<i>“But now it seems to be just regular cotton. Basically, Encim Encim fabric or material is similar to what is mostly used in Abang-None. So it's like cotton.” (N3)</i>	Use of cotton materials	The use of cotton materials, which has continued into the modern era, refers to aesthetics and comfort.
<i>Actually, it used to be only one color, but because it went through the embroidery machine, there are now many colors. (N1)</i>	Embroidery technology	Dutch–Chinese: the advent of embroidery machines
<i>“I prefer the smooth cotton. If it's a bit cold at night, I can wear satin or organdy. It depends on the occasion. If it's a more formal event, I can wear something with a higher collar.” (N4))</i>	Variasi pemilihan bahan sesuai acara	The adaptation of material selection based on formal/informal occasions demonstrates flexibility and hybridity in clothing styles.

The dynamics of social practices, according to Shove et al. (2012), have material elements that include physical objects and resources used in practices related to culture. It can be understood that clothing materials, clothing shapes, cuts, and textures are also included in these elements. The chiffon fabric chosen for the Peranakan kebaya was not only selected for its well-known lightness and comfort, but also because it conveys a feminine impression that is synonymous with Peranakan women.

In addition, the choice of this soft and smooth fabric was also influenced by the colonialists, who introduced high-quality fabrics into the local culture. At that time, the Chinese community widely adopted the colonial women's style of dress. Therefore, it is understandable that in determining the material, it was not only chosen for its functional value, but also for aesthetic reasons that developed within the community at the time. Other material elements include the cut of the kebaya, the style, and the texture. The loose cut of the kebaya was adopted from Javanese cultural values of modesty. The garment was designed with the aim of concealing or even covering parts of the body, such as the curves of a woman's body, to give an elegant and modest impression. Then, the length of the kebaya, which reaches the knees, illustrates the influence of Chinese women's clothing styles. This combination resulted in a new form, namely the Kebaya Encim, which has its own characteristics.

Today's Kebaya Encim wearers prefer regular cotton. This statement shows a shift in the choice of materials for making Kebaya Encim over time. Although chiffon fabric was more popular in the past, cotton is now the primary choice due to its practical value for users, such as comfort and ease of care.

The reinterpretation of the Kebaya Encim through the change to cotton fabric illustrates the adaptation process that has occurred in response to the changing needs and lifestyles of modern society. In practice, the Kebaya Encim can be worn for everyday activities because it fulfills practical values.t time.

Based on the data obtained, researchers also found information about the selection of Kebaya Encim, which has now become more flexible and adapts to its needs and context, such as the need to attend certain events. If it is to be worn as everyday clothing, cotton is the most popular choice due to its comfort. However, in the context of certain formal events or events held in the evening, satin or organdy is chosen because of its elegant impression. In addition to the material, other aspects such as the collar style of the kebaya are also taken into consideration in this context. Thus, it can be understood that clothing styles have undergone a hybridization process. The materials chosen are satin or organdy because they give an elegant impression. In addition to the material, other aspects such as the collar style of the kebaya are also considered in this context. Thus, it can be understood that clothing styles have undergone hybridization, as evidenced by the combination of traditional Kebaya Encim values with modern tastes.

From the results of digital observations conducted by researchers through the social media platform TikTok, chiffon kebaya fabric is still a popular choice of material today. This finding is reinforced by video content from several TikTok accounts coded Tk2, Tk6, Tk8, Tk12, where creators show the use of sifon Kebaya Encim in various occasions and events, both formal and informal. Although its use has undergone changes in material selection, sifon shows continuity between traditional elements and contemporary clothing standards of beauty, as it is still considered capable of conveying an elegant impression.



Figure 2. 1 Bahan Sifon Tk2
Sumber: <https://vt.TikTok.com/ZSS5QEUKr/>

From other digital observations of a number of TikTok accounts that still use Kebaya Encim, researchers found that most users choose cotton material for the kebaya they wear. This preference for cotton fabric is based on the public's understanding that cotton is a comfortable material that absorbs sweat and is easier to care for than chiffon and brocade. This understanding of the characteristics of cotton fabric is in line with the needs of today's users, as most Kebaya Encim enthusiasts are young people who are still active. This finding is demonstrated by TikTok accounts with the codes Tk1, Tk3, and Tk4. Tk5, Tk7, Tk9, Tk10, Tk11,

Tk13, Tk14, Tk15, Tk16, Tk17, and Tk18.



Figure 2. 2 Bahan Katun dari Tk1
Sumber: <https://vt.TikTok.com/ZSS5Qw386/>

The introduction of embroidery machines at that time became a technology that supported developments in the techniques of making and decorating Kebaya Encim. Using this machine requires expertise and knowledge to operate it, as well as knowledge of designs or motifs that are in line with the aesthetics of the Peranakan culture. The presence of embroidery machines helped develop other variations in Kebaya Encim, such as variations in color and motif, which ultimately supported the process of reinterpreting this kebaya in line with evolving social practices.

The use of brocade fabric reflects a form of innovation in the selection of materials influenced by the changing times. From the information obtained by researchers from N5, brocade fabric, which has a raised texture accompanied by beautiful motifs, gives a luxurious impression to clothes made from this fabric. The introduction of brocade fabric as an alternative material indicates a change in social practices. Thus, dressing is not only a fulfillment of function but also a form of response to developments in fashion and individual tastes.

“After that, I noticed that many Peranakan women here wear brocade” (N5).

Based on data from informants and digital data from TikTok, triangulators say the same thing, as can be seen in the statement below.

“Until now, good materials are still transparent, such as chiffon or voile” (N5).

This quote shows that thin and transparent materials such as chiffon and voile are still the standard of quality in the materials chosen for making kebaya, which in this context is the Kebaya Encim among Peranakan women to this day.

"If the material is not long enough, it is cut like this. The fabric is then sewn together again. In the past, the width was only about 80 cm. This is a long dress, Chinese people wear it below the knee. The material is transparent and this is also a long dress. Here, there is a triangle stitch" (N5).

Quotes from these informant confirm the use of transparent materials and manual joining techniques to cover fabric shortages in the manufacture of long dresses in the past. Fabric was added by sewing triangular pieces of fabric onto the lower sleeves to make it easier to move around. In addition, the use of transparent materials is indeed a characteristic of the Encim Peranakan kebaya, which distinguishes it from traditional kebayas in other regions. This shows that there has been continuity and change in the materials used to make the Encim kebaya, which can be seen as a form of preservation and acceptance of innovation. Thus, the selection of materials in the Encim Kebaya is an important part of social practice and also illustrates that the Encim Kebaya opens up space for adaptation to the tastes and needs of its users in modern times.

2.2 Material Meanings of Kebaya Encim

In Shove et al.'s theory (2012), meaning is one of the main elements that can shape and maintain a social practice. This element contains cultural values, symbols, and opinions from the social community involved in a practice.

Table 3. 1 Elemen Makna Kebaya Encim

Elements	Data excerpts	Themes	Cultural development
Meaning	<i>The Encim kebaya was once worn as everyday clothing and became the ethnic identity of the Peranakan community in the Betawi neighborhood (N2)</i>	Daily ethnic identity	Chinese-Betawi: the unification of ethnic identities in Betawi
	<i>It just shows that I am Indonesian, that's right. I am Javanese. Yesterday, when I went to Thailand, they immediately knew, oh you are wearing a kebaya, yes. This is an Indonesian kebaya, oh so nice, so cool, cute, like that. I like it, thank you, I said that. (N4)</i>	National Identity	Shift in meaning

<i>"This Kebaya Encim is also one of the Indonesian cultures that is preserved and there is an element of acculturation, perhaps with Chinese culture like that" (N2)</i>	cultural fusion	The kebaya Encim as a manifestation of cultural fusion
<i>"Melting pot means that this city is indeed a melting pot of many races, ethnicities, and regional origins, all united here. But despite these different backgrounds, they can be brought together in harmony in Jakarta. One of them is Chinese culture. The Chinese are also a strong group in Jakarta." (N3)</i>	Global Identity	Symbols of cultural harmony in the Jakarta area

Identity is not only formed through what they think or say about something, but also through daily habits that are carried out continuously. For example, the use of Kebaya Encim, which was often worn in the daily lives of Peranakan women in the Betawi area in the past. Thus, Kebaya Encim is commonly understood as a form of identity for Peranakan women.

The shift in the meaning of ethnic identity shows that the Kebaya Encim is a form of social practice that continues to evolve within the social environment of the community. This shift shows how social practices that were previously used in everyday life can change into a broader identity and become a national identity. This illustrates the reinterpretation of meaning that has occurred in the Kebaya Encim due to the social practices and thinking of the community, which continue to evolve in line with the changing times.

The Encim kebaya has a symbolic meaning, which is acculturation. As we know, the Encim kebaya is the result of a fusion of local, Dutch, and Chinese cultures. This can be seen in its design, motifs, and how it is worn, reinforcing the Encim kebaya as a symbol of diverse cultural identities. Further information shows that Jakarta is a multicultural city and a place where various cultures mix. In this case, the Kebaya Encim symbolizes cultural harmony, demonstrated by the acceptance of two cultures, resulting in a new cultural form.

Based on the above data, other sources also conveyed changes in the meaning of the Kebaya Encim, as can be seen in the statement below.

"There is a sense of pride, a sense of pride from above" (N5).

This statement shows that the use of Kebaya Encim in the past was accompanied by a sense of pride

from its users, because they were aware that Kebaya Encim had cultural value that was very valuable to the Peranakan community, which could show their identity in public spaces. Thus, it can be understood that the practice of dressing is not only a routine carried out by humans but also a means of expressing identity, acceptance in social spaces, and pride that continues to be created in the daily lives of Peranakan women.

The following statements from the informants also indicate a reinterpretation of the meaning of the Kebaya Encim, which can be seen in the quotes below

"It's useless, today's dress code is just like that, there's no pride in it" (N5).

"I asked where the kebaya was. The wardrobe was sold to me empty. Do you know what he said? Three days ago, it was put in a sack, placed in front, and a scavenger took it. Even though it was a heirloom, his mother-in-law was someone who cherished her belongings, and it belonged to her parents and her son-in-law, who threw it away. That kebaya, that antique kebaya, could be worth 15 million rupiah. If you don't know something, you won't love it. Yes, that's right. Because he didn't know, it was easy for him to throw it away" (N5)

This statement illustrates the reinterpretation of the meaning of the Encim kebaya, which shows the weakening of the symbolic meaning that previously existed in the Encim kebaya. Now, the Encim kebaya is only worn to fulfill the requirements or rules of formal events without any understanding of the cultural value contained within it. Many people still do not understand the important value of the Kebaya Encim. The quote above illustrates how a lack of knowledge makes it easy for people to discard something or an item that is actually very valuable. In this era of modernization, the changing meaning of the Kebaya Encim shows how social practices can shift when one of their main elements is no longer strongly connected to the other elements.

From the data obtained above, it can be understood that the Kebaya Encim not only functions as traditional clothing, but also as part of a social practice that has meaning in terms of identity, cultural values, and a means of social expression for Peranakan women. Elements of meaning are important in shaping ethnic identity, but with the passage of time and the advent of modernization, these meanings and values can easily change. Therefore, the preservation of the Kebaya Encim should not only focus on its physical form but also on the meanings and values that should be instilled in the current generation.

CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that the reinterpretation of kebaya encim can be analyzed through two elements of social practice dynamics theory, namely material and meaning. In terms of material, changes can be seen in the types of fabric, cuts, production techniques, and the increasingly diverse selection of materials to suit the needs and tastes of modern society. In the past, kebaya encim often used chiffon or lace with traditional embroidery techniques, but now a variety of materials such as cotton, satin,

and brocade are widely chosen, indicating a process of adaptation to the comfort, functionality, and fashion trends of today. Meanwhile, in terms of meaning, the kebaya encim has shifted from being a symbol of the ethnic identity of the Chinese-Betawi peranakan to a symbol of national identity and cultural expression in public spaces and social media. Thus, the kebaya encim is not only a manifestation of cultural fusion, but also reflects the dynamics of social practices that continue to change with the times. Therefore, to preserve the kebaya encim, it is not enough to focus solely on its physical form or appearance. It is also necessary to emphasize or provide an understanding of the values, symbols, and identity contained within it so that it remains meaningful for current and future generations.

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